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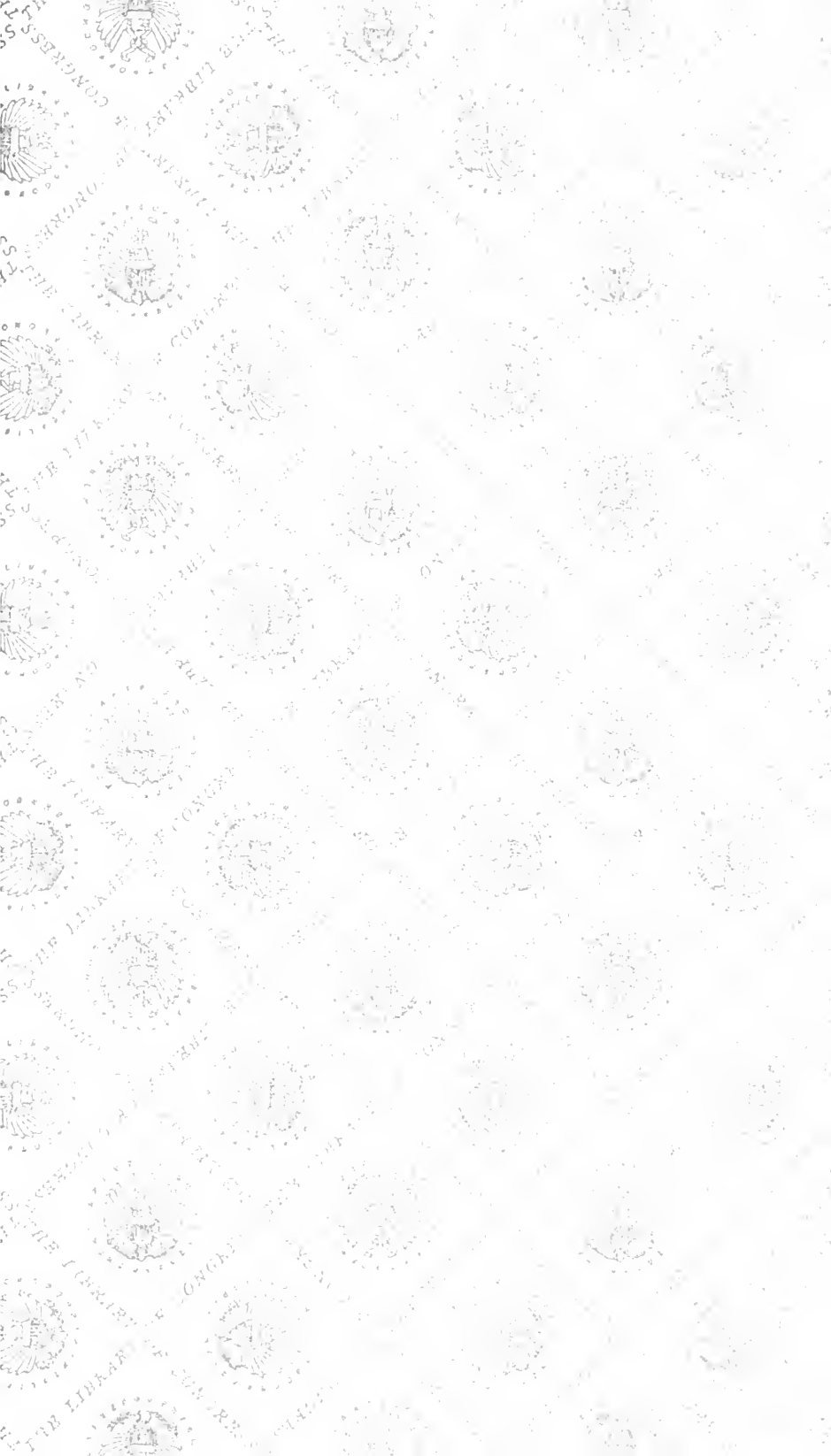
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ADDRESS

OF THE

STARKSBOROUGH AND LINCOLN

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

TO THE PUBLIC.

PRESENTED 11th MONTH, 8th, 1834.

MIDDLEBURY:
KNAPP AND JEWETT, PRINTERS
1835

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

NATHAN PAGE, *President.*

JOSEPH WORTH, *Vice President.*

AMOS BATTEY, *Treasurer.*

JOEL BATTEY, *Secretary.*

COUNSELLORS.

BENJAMIN TABER,
NATHAN C. GOVE,
THURSTON CHASE,
GEORGE HARKNESS,
LEVI GOVE,
JAMES HARKNESS,
JOSEPH CHASE.

A D D R E S S .

RESPECTED FELLOW-CITIZENS :

HAVING associated for the purpose of advancing the general good, by united exertion for the removal of a great national evil which threatens to involve our beloved country in ruin, we consider it due to you, who have the same common interests with ourselves, to state explicitly our *object*, our *reasons* for seeking it, the *means* we propose for its accomplishment, and the *principles* which are to control our action; and due to ourselves and our cause, to correct some of the misrepresentations of our principles and designs, which our enemies, through ignorance, prejudice, or malice, are circulating in the community.

While we protest against being judged by the misrepresentations of those who are unacquainted with our views, we trust to the candor of our fellow-citizens, that when they shall have become fully acquainted with our principles and plans, they will not only pronounce upright judgment, but lend their aid in support of the same righteous cause. It is matter of surprise and regret, that in this enlightened community, the existence of negro-slavery in the United States, involving, as it does, the present and eternal condition of millions of the human family, has not more generally awakened the spirit of inquiry; that ignorance has so long veiled our eyes, and prevented us from taking a distinct view of the horrid monster in his real form. Many persons, well informed on other subjects, know very little of slavery, as it exists in the southern portion of these United States;—others seem not to be aware of the fact, that the people and government of the United States tolerate and maintain slavery in the District of Columbia and some of the Territories; and even some are hardly sensible that negro-slavery exists at the present time in our country at all.* To this prevailing ignorance may be attributed the facility with which the advocates of slavery circulate false accusations against

* The following extract from an article in the Christian Mirror, will serve to give an inkling of what may be:

"Birney's letter was recently given to a man, who has for several years been Chairman of the Board of Selectmen in one of the largest towns in a County in this State. He was requested to read it, and was told that it was an article on slavery and colonization. He remarked, 'there are no slaves in this country, are there?' When do you think slavery was abolished? 'I don't know; I thought there was a law passed that slaves should be free when they were twenty-one.' By whom was this law passed? 'The government.' What government? 'Congress.' Such was the state of knowledge of one of the fathers of the town, who aspires also to become a legislator."

If a father of his town be so ignorant as this, what may we expect of the lower class of the inhabitants but *total ignorance* in relation to this subject? The following will serve to illustrate this point:

A member of this society says, that "recently, while being out a short distance from home, soliciting signers to a memorial on the subject of slavery, he found some three or four individuals who were surprised at being told that slavery existed in the United States."

They supposed that all the people of color in this country were free, and that the question in dispute between the Abolitionists and the Colonizationists was, "what should be done with them?"

the cause of Abolition; and hence the necessity of the present exposition and defence.

OBJECT. Our object, as set forth in our Constitution, to which we refer you, is, "the immediate emancipation of the whole colored race in our land;—the emancipation of the slave from the oppression of the master;—the emancipation of the free colored man from the oppression of public sentiment,—and the elevation of both to an intellectual, moral, and political equality with the whites."

By *immediate emancipation*, we "do not mean, that the slaves shall be turned loose upon the nation, to roam as vagabonds or aliens; nor that they shall be instantly invested with all political rights and privileges; nor that they shall be expelled from their native clime, as the price and condition of their freedom. But we mean, that instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible masters, they shall really receive the protection of law: That the power which is now vested in every slave-holder to rob them of their just dues, to drive them into the fields like beasts, to lacerate their bodies, to sell the husband from the wife, the wife from the husband, and children from their parents, shall instantly cease: That the slaves shall be employed as free laborers, fairly compensated, and protected in their earnings: That they shall be placed under a benevolent and disinterested supervision, which shall secure to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, to accumulate wealth, and to seek an intellectual and moral elevation."*

We are aware that many object to the term *immediate*, for the reason, that the tremendous system of slavery cannot be overthrown in an *instant*; but we see no inconsistency in the use of it when applied to these measures, because the authority of common usage sanctions the application of the term to any important public measure, if it be commenced without delay, and speedily urged to its completion.—"When any great object is to be attained by the united efforts of many men," says an able writer in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, "certain *propositions* or *doctrines* are laid down and understood in common among them, as the basis of action. This is absolutely required by the necessity of the case. For instance, if a republican government is to be formed, the *doctrine* must first be established that the *majority must rule*. It is of no avail to object that this proposition is an *abstract* one—that it has never been exemplified in the practice of any republic; it is of none the less practical importance. Till it is distinctly apprehended and admitted, nothing like a republic can exist.

"Now take the case of *two millions* of American slaves. The first thing to be done is, to agree what OUGHT to be done. Till this point is settled, action is useless. The grand question is, OUGHT THE SLAVES TO BE FREE? Suppose it to be replied that this depends upon circumstances;—that they ought to be free as soon as they can use their liberty with advantage to themselves and safety to their masters; but with regard to the great mass of them, this cannot be expected; therefore, they *ought not* to be free till they are properly prepared. Here is the DOCTRINE of *gradualism*."

* This definition of immediate emancipation is given by the Emancipator, which we adopt as our own.

Again, suppose it to be replied, "that the slaves OUGHT to be made free NOW;—that those who have the power to FREE THEM, (and we believe that the *masters*, individually and collectively, have the power,) ought to use it *without any delay*;"—and here we have the DOCTRINE of *immediatism*.

If any of our readers, by mistaking a *PLAN of operations* for a doctrine of *morals*, entertain a misapprehension of the views and motives of Abolitionists, we would take the present opportunity of setting them right. To do this, we need only remark, that we have seen too much of the world, and the proneness of erring mortals to remain a little longer in their sins, to suppose that slavery in this country will be *instantaneously* abolished: nevertheless, we believe it will be abolished. We believe that the doctrine of immediate abolition, urged upon the understandings and consciences of the people of this country, will effect this desirable object.

REASONS. We advocate the immediate emancipation of the slaves for the following reasons:

Because, Slavery is contrary to the law of God, and a gross violation of the rights of man: Because it degrades and sinks to a level with the brutes, a being whom God has created in his own image—made a little lower than the angels—crowned with glory and honor, and set over the work of his hands;*—drags him to the shambles, and sells him like a beast—tears asunder parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters—consigns them to distant, hopeless bondage, and subjects them to innumerable physical sufferings and disabilities: Because it is the fruitful cause of discord among the States—retards the prosperity of the nation—perils public safety, and puts in jeopardy the existence of the Union; and, Because it provokes the wrath of God, and exposes the whole nation to the severest judgments of Heaven.

We advocate the emancipation of the free colored man, from the oppression of public sentiment: Because *color* is not *crime*, and deserves no *punishment*.

We advocate the elevation of the colored race to an intellectual, moral, and political equality with the whites: Because the white people of our country have debased them to their present degraded state, and are, therefore, most solemnly bound to seek their elevation.

It is of no avail to object that the ancestors of the colored people now in question, were uncivilized and unenlightened, when taken from the coast of Africa: most of the present generation of slaves were born in the United States. *Their* native country is the same which gave the *white man* birth. They are, therefore, entitled to the same privileges with the whites—to an equality with them, in an unbounded sense of the word. But were we to argue, from the native condition of those who have been kidnapped in Africa, to their condition here, we should arrive at the same unavoidable result. While they remained in Africa, it is true, they were unenlightened; but, their neighbors being unenlightened also, they enjoyed a perfect equality of condition with those among whom they lived. It follows, therefore, that by kidnapping and taking them from barbarous Africa to enlightened America, we have changed their condition from a

* Vide Genesis i. 27, and Psalms viii. 5, 6.

perfect equality with their neighbors to a *monstrous inequality*, which affords their whiter brethren an opportunity to defraud them of their rights. It holds true, then, that we are bound to seek their elevation.

MEANS. We propose to accomplish our object, not by encouraging the slaves to rebel; nor by any means which are contrary, either to the dictates of humanity, the gospel of peace, or the laws of the land: But, by a course of investigation and discussion; such as the Constitution of the United States plainly indicates, when it says, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the rights of the people peaceably to assemble." By disseminating facts and arguments in relation to the situation and rights of the enslaved, till we have roused the public mind to a just sense of their wrongs, and of the moral evils and the sin of slavery—till we have awakened a universal abhorrence of the slave-holding system, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the great western wild.* If it be asked, What benefit will arise from a course of examination and discussion on the subject of slavery, in States where slavery does not exist? we reply, That notwithstanding the *form of slavery* exists only in one half the States, yet the *spirit of slavery* pervades the Union from one end to the other. We have need, therefore, to labor *here*;—to reform public sentiment at *home*, before we go *abroad*. Were it not for the countenance and support of public sentiment in the free States, slavery were but a living death.—Remove this support, then, and slavery is swept away. If the discussion of this subject here, be so very harmless—if it be not calculated to exert a powerful influence on public sentiment at the South—if it strikes not a death blow at the very root of slavery, then why are the planters of the South so much concerned about the measures pursued by the Abolitionists of the North? Why have rewards been offered for the head of William Lloyd Garrison? Certainly, this uneasiness of southern slave-holders bears ample testimony to the efficacy of our measures: It proves that discussion here, operates upon the public mind of the South, and affords cheering evidence that it will eventually bring about a reformation of public sentiment there, and with it the downfall of slavery. But we have proof of this in practical results; for the leaven of abolition principles begins to work already in the slave-holding community: already have a Birney and a Thome arisen to plead the cause of the poor and needy.†

PRINCIPLES. Our action is based upon the great fundamental principle, that *man cannot hold property in man*; and shall be controlled by the principle of "redeeming love," which enjoins the doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. And here it may be proper to notice, briefly, a mistaken notion, which, we are sorry to say, has obtained to considerable extent in this enlightened community, "that the slaves are the real property of the masters—a kind of property as inviolable as that of cattle and horses." But what!—property in men!—property in human beings!—property in the images of God!!! In the "original grant," man was constituted "lord of the

* For a more minute detail of the measures we propose, see our Constitution, 3d Art.

† These gentlemen were born, and now live, in a slave State. The latter is heir to a slave-inheritance, and the former, until he became an Abolitionist, was a slave-holder.—We need not say that he has emancipated his slaves.

earth:" "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."* But we find no such words as *these*—"Let them have dominion over *man*." He has reserved then, the right to control man, *exclusively* to himself. But the slave-holder invades this right, and usurps the prerogative of Jehovah, as the serpent, the first slave-holder did, when he prevailed upon our first parents to obey *him* rather than their Maker. We maintain, therefore, that he who holds a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, steals him, not only from himself, but from the original owner, God, who gave him being;—that time can never make this stolen property his, nor diminish the guilt attached to the crime of stealing it;—and further, we maintain, that he who advocates the infernal doctrine, that man has a right to hold property in his fellow-being, virtually denies the right of God to the exclusive control of man, and thus offers indignity to the Supreme Being.

Whatever ignorance, pride, or the selfishness of man, may advance to the contrary, slave-holding is a sin. In the book of inspiration we are commanded to do unto others as we would they should do unto us,—to love our neighbors as ourselves.† But will the planter say that he treats his slave as he himself is willing to be treated?—that he loves his slave as he loves himself? If so, let him verify the assertion. Let him liberate his slave, or otherwise, let him take his turn in the field. Yes, if he loves his slave as himself, let him be master to-day, and to-morrow let *him* be the *slave*, and his *slave* the *master*.

Again, we read, "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed:‡ to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless."§ And again, "Thus saith the Lord; Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."|| Let the slave-holders ponder upon this. And again, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if *he be found in his hand*, he shall surely be put to death."¶ Indeed, there is no other book in the world, which, from one end to the other, so completely tears up slavery by the roots.*†

It may be asked, why it is *not right* to hold our fellow-men in bondage *now*, since the Hebrews were *permitted* to have bond-men and bondmaids of the heathen that were round about them? We reply, that the God against whom the heathen had sinned, had a right to punish them as he saw fit. He commanded the children of Israel "to overthrow them utterly, and quite break down their images," to "smite them and utterly destroy them" to "make no covenant with them nor shew mercy unto them,"‡‡ Will our objector now carry out the argument, and say that we should be justified in *extirpating*

* Genesis i. 26. † Vide Mat. vii. 12, and xix. 19. ‡ How completely analogous to the laws of slave-holding States, which provide for the maintenance and preservation of the slave-system! § Isaiah x. 1, 2. || Jeremiah xxiv. 17. ¶ Exodus xxi. 16. †† A dangerous book indeed! No wonder that the laws of the slave-holding States guard so cautiously against the religious instruction of the slaves! ‡‡ Exod. xxiii. 24, and Deut. vii. 2.

the whole negro race? When the slave-holders of the present day, have obtained of the same AUTHOR OF RIGHTS a *licence* to deal in the bodies and souls of men, then, but not till then, will we admit the comparison of Hebrew bondage with American slavery.

Again, we hear the slave-holder apologize in this way: "Notwithstanding negro-slavery may have been very sinful in its beginning, perhaps in the days of my great-great-grandfather, yet it has been *entailed* upon the present generation, and therefore we are excusable." But we have yet to learn that a crime committed by the son, is less criminal, because the father was guilty of the same. Indeed, the guilt of the present slave-holders is greatly increased from their opportunity of experience. The "fathers tried the system of slavery and found it bad—the sons looked on and saw all this, yet they adopted the sins of their fathers." How completely applicable to them, is the denunciation of our Lord: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore, ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets!" The fathers have taken the negro from the coast of Africa, destroyed his freedom, and buried him in the sepulchre of American slavery. The sons apologize for slavery as "A LAMENTABLE NECESSITY" *entailed upon them*;—thus, garnishing the sepulchre that it may "appear beautiful outward, while it is within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." Well might the Savior rebuke the present generation as he did that which slew the last of the prophets: "Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers:" * * * "That upon you may come all the" innocent "blood" of the poor Africans, "shed" from the commencement of the African slave-trade to the present time.

"Slavery," says Dr. Thompson, "is the very Upas tree of the moral world, beneath whose pestiferous shade all intellect languishes, and all virtue dies." The tree is evil, and the fruit is evil, and "only evil continually."

Firstly, *Its effects upon Africa are most disastrous.* A late writer* thus describes it: "All along the shores of this devoted country, terror and distrust prevail. The natives never venture out without arms, when a vessel is in sight, and skulk through their own fields, as if watched by a panther. All their worst passions are called into full exercise, and all their kindlier feelings smothered. Treachery, fraud, and violence, desolate the country, rend asunder the dearest relations, and pollute the very fountains of justice. The history of the negro, whether national or domestic, is written in blood."

2d, *The effect of the system on the condition of the slave, is such as language is unable fully to describe.* The physical sufferings of the slave previous to his departure from his native land, are described by the above writer in the following language: "Husbands are torn from their wives, children from their parents, while the air is filled with the shrieks and lamentations of the bereaved. Sometimes they are brought from a remote country; obliged to wander over mountains and through deserts; chained together in herds; driven by the whip;

* Mrs. Child.

scorched by a tropical sun; compelled to carry heavy bales of merchandize; suffering with hunger and thirst; worn down with fatigue; and often leaving their bones to whiten in the desert." "Those who arrive at the sea-coast, are in a state of desperation and despair.— Their purchasers are so well aware of this, and so fearful of the consequences, that they set sail in the night, lest the negroes should know when they depart from their native shores."

During their passage to the place of destination, their suffering is unmingled and extreme. They are stowed by hundreds between the low decks, in a confined, sitting posture, which circumstance, alone, occasions excessive pain. In addition to this, they suffer stripes, and not unfrequently death, from the cruelty of hard-hearted captains.

"A child on board a slave-ship, of about ten months old, took sulk and would not eat; the captain flogged it with a cat-o'-nine-tails; swearing that he would make it eat, or kill it. From this, and other ill-treatment, the limbs swelled. He then ordered some water to be made hot, to abate the swelling. But even his tender mercies were cruel. The cook, on putting his hand into the water, said it was too hot. Upon this the captain swore at him, and ordered the feet to be put in.— This was done. The nails and skin came off. Oiled cloths were then put around them. The child was at length tied to a heavy log. Two or three days afterwards, the captain caught it up again, and repeated that he would make it eat, or kill it.— He immediately flogged it again, and in a quarter of an hour it died. and after the babe was dead, whom should the barbarian select to throw it overboard, but the wretched mother! In vain she tried to avoid the office. He beat her, till he made her take up the child and carry it to the side of the vessel. She then dropped it into the sea, turning her head the other way that she might not see it."*

We forbear to multiply instances of such abhorrent cruelty, not because they are few, but because they are so many that "a large volume might be filled with such detestable anecdotes perfectly well authenticated."

According to Clarkson's estimate, "about two and a half out of a hundred of human beings die annually, in the ordinary course of nature, including infants and the aged; but in an African voyage, where few babes and no old people are admitted, so that those shipped are at the firmest period of life, the annual mortality is forty-three in a hundred. In vessels that sail from Bonny, Benin, and the Calabars, whence a large portion of slaves are brought, this mortality is so much increased by various causes, that eighty-six in a hundred die yearly." He adds, "It is a destruction, which if general but for ten years, would depopulate the world, and extinguish the human race."† Arrived at the destined port, the slaves "are advertised with cattle; chained in droves, and driven to market with a whip; and sold at auction with the beasts of the field."

But it may be said that "the African slave-trade has long since been abolished, and that therefore, its horrors and guilt belong exclusively to a by-gone age." We answer, that notwithstanding the nations have declared it piracy to engage in this traffic, it is yet carried on to considerable extent. The African Repository says—

"It has been declared felony—it has been declared piracy; and the fleets of Britain and America have been commissioned to drive it from the ocean. Still, in defiance of all this array of legislation and armament, slave-ships ride triumphantly on

* Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, quoted by Mrs. Child. † Mrs. Child's Appeal.

the ocean; and in these floating caverns from sixty to eighty thousand wretches are borne annually away to slavery or death. Of these wretches, a frightful number are, with an audacity that amazes, landed and disposed of within the jurisdiction of this republic."

Dr. Walsh, in his book on Brazil, published in 1834, says,

"Notwithstanding the benevolent and persevering exertions of England, this horrid traffic in human flesh is nearly as extensively carried on as ever, and under circumstances perhaps of a more revolting character. The very shifts of evasion—the necessity for concealment, and the desperate hazard, cause inconvenience and suffering to the poor creatures in a very aggravated degree."

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the Foreign Slave-Trade had been entirely broken up, still, "its horrors and guilt belong" *not* "exclusively to a by-gone age." For those very crimes committed in the legalized prosecution of the Slave-Trade, are the price which the fathers paid in the purchase of American Slavery—a purchase which they have left as a patrimony to their posterity. And this blood-stained patrimony, the present generation of slave-holders inherit. But the slave-holders of the present day are deeply involved in a crime to which their *prime* ancestors in oppression were entire strangers: We allude to the Domestic Slave-Trade of the United States; a Trade scarcely inferior to the Foreign in extent of misery or crime.

"Dealing in slaves has become a large business. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws, gags, cowskins, and other whips, oftentimes bloody."—*Niles' Register*, Vol. 35, page 4. "But Washington is the great emporium of the internal slave-trade! The United States Jail is a perfect store-house for slave-merchants; and some of the taverns may be seen so crowded with negro captives, that they have scarcely room to stretch themselves on the floor to sleep."—*Child's Appeal*, page 31.

The following facts will serve to illustrate the cruel and heart-rending separations from kindred, friends, and home, which daily occur in the prosecution of this nefarious traffic:

"A master in St. Louis, sold a slave at auction, to a driver, who was collecting men for the southern market. The negro was very intelligent, and on account of his ingenuity in working iron, was sold for an uncommonly high price—at out seven or eight hundred dollars. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved; and from whom he was determined not to part. During the progress of the sale, he saw that a certain man was determined to purchase him. He went up to him and said, 'If you buy me, you must buy my wife too, for I can't go without her. If you will only buy my wife, I will go with you willingly; but if you don't, I shall never be of any use to you.' He continued to repeat the same expressions for some time. The man turned upon him, and with a sneer and a blow, said, 'Begone, villain! don't you know you are a slave?' The negro felt it keenly: he retired. The sale went on. He was finally struck off to this man. The slave again accosted his new master, and with great earnestness and feeling, besought him to buy his wife, saying, that if he only would do that, he would work for him hard and faithfully—would be a good slave—and added with much emphasis, 'If you don't, I never shall be worth any thing to you.' He was now repelled more harshly than before. The negro retired a little distance from his master, took out his knife, cut his throat from ear to ear, and fell weltering in his blood!—Can slaves feel?"

"The following happened in Campbell County, Kentucky.—This county lies directly across the Ohio river, opposite Cincinnati. A slave had been purchased by a trader from the lower country. The flat-boat in which he was to go down was lying at the village of Covington just opposite Cincinnati. The morning came on which he was to go. He was brought on board in chains. His colored acquaintances gathered around him, to bid him 'good bye.' Among those who came was his wife. She had followed him on foot from their home, a few miles in the interior.

For some time she stood on the boat in the silence of despair—weeping, but speaking not. But as the moment of separation drew near, she gave vent to her grief in wild and incoherent shrieks, tearing her hair and tossing her arms wildly into the air. She was carried home a raving maniac. In this condition, she continued for weeks, raving and calling out for her husband. The family who owned her, whipped her repeatedly because she neglected her work to talk and cry about her husband so much.”—[Communicated to the editor of the *N. Y. Evangelist*, by H. B. Stanton of Lane Seminary, on the authority of students in that seminary, who have been born and educated at the South.]

Would that this were the extent of the slave-holder's crimes—that the sufferings and hardships which the slave undergoes in the prosecution of the foreign and domestic slave-trades, were all for which the master must answer in the great day of account. But the sufferings and privations of the slave, and the cruelties inflicted upon him while in actual service, remain yet to be told. A picture of these may be found in the laws of the slave-holding States; for in a country of republican government, the laws are “an index of the popular will.” We ask your attention, therefore, respected fellow-citizens, to the following propositions, showing the aspect of slavery, as exhibited by the legislative enactments of the slave-holding States.*

1. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.

2. The labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated: while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made—no wages given. A pure despotism governs the human brute; and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on his master's discretion.

3. The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living, or a deceased master;—sold at auction, either individually, or in lots, to suit the purchaser, he may remain with his family, or be separated from them forever.

4. Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends belong, in point of law, to their masters.

5. Neither a slave, or free colored person, can be a witness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit: but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave, or free colored man, even in cases affecting life.

6. The slave may be punished at his master's discretion—without trial—without any means of legal redress,—whether his offence be real, or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or persons he may choose to appoint.

7. The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances: his only safety consists in the fact that his owner may bring suit, and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.

8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

9. The slave is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations.

10. The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.

11. The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation.

12. The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.

13. There is in this country a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave;

* These propositions are taken from Mrs. Child's Appeal, where they are fully proved by the evidence of actually existing laws.

the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished in the negro with death.*

14. The laws operate most oppressively upon free people of color.

But the laws, instead of exhibiting the darkest side of slavery, represent it in its most favorable light; as will appear to any person on a candid examination of facts already before the public.† We quote the following instances as examples of the cruelty which always accompanies the system of American slavery:

"The following happened in South Carolina:—A slave being missing, several planters united in a negro-hunt, as it is called. They set out with dogs, guns, and horses, as they would to chase a tiger. The poor fellow, being discovered, took refuge in a tree; where he was deliberately shot by his pursuers."—*Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 24

The following account was originally written by the Rev. William Diekey of Bloomingsburgh, to the Rev. John Rankin, of Ripley, Ohio, who assures us that the writer was well acquainted with the circumstance he describes:

"In the county of Livingston, Kentucky, near the mouth of Cumberland river, lived Lilburn Lewis, the son of Jefferson's sister. He was the wealthy owner of a considerable number of slaves, whom he drove constantly, fed sparingly, and lashed severely. The consequence was, they would run away. Among the rest was an ill-grown boy, about seventeen, who, having just returned from a skulking spell, was sent to the spring for water, and, in returning, let fall an elegant pitcher, which dashed to shivers on the rocks. It was night, and the slaves were all at home. The master had them collected into the most roomy negro-house, and a rousing fire was made. The door was fastened, that none of the negroes, either through fear or sympathy, should attempt to escape; he then told them that the design of this meeting was to teach them to remain at home and obey his orders. All things being now in train, George was called up, and by the assistance of his younger brother, laid on a broad bench or block. The master then cut off his ankles with a broad axe. In vain the unhappy victim screamed. Not a hand among so many dared to interfere. Having cast the feet into the fire, he lectured the negroes at some length. He then proceeded to cut off his limbs below the knees. The sufferer besought him to begin with his head. It was in vain—the monster went on thus, until trunk, arms and head, were all in the fire. Still protracting the intervals with lectures, and threatenings of like punishment, in case any of them were disobedient, or ran away, or disclosed the tragedy, they were compelled to witness."—*Idem*. pp. 22, 23.

A writer in the American Anti-Slavery Reporter for February, 1834, says—

"At length I arrived at the dwelling of a planter of my acquaintance, with whom I passed the night. At about eight o'clock in the evening, I heard the barking of several dogs, mingled with the most agonizing cries that I ever heard from any human being. Soon after, the gentleman came in, and began to apologize, by saying, that two of his runaway slaves had just been brought home, and as he had previously tried every species of punishment upon them without effect, he knew not what else to add except to set his blood-hounds upon them, 'and,' continued he, 'one of them has been so badly bitten that he has been trying to die. I am only sorry that he did not; for then I should not have been further troubled with him.'"

Again, the same writer says—

"As I have set in my window, night after night, while the cotton was being weighed, I have heard the crack of the whip, without much intermission, for a whole hour, from no less than three plantations, some of which were a full mile distant." And again, "I have known no less than a dozen desert at a time, from the

* Stroud says, there are seventy-one crimes in the slave States, for which negroes are punished with death, and for each and every one of these crimes the white man suffers nothing worse than imprisonment in the penitentiary.—*Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 59.

† We refer those who would form their opinion upon facts, to 'Bourne's Picture of Slavery in the United States;' to 'An Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans—By Mrs. Child,' of Boston; and to other publications of a kindred class.

same plantation, in consequence of the overseer's forcing them to work to the extent of their power, and then whipping them for not having done more."

"A colored man, who was kidnapped in Africa when a child, and sold to a planter in Tennessee, served on the same plantation, during the life of his first master, his first master's son, and grand-son, and was serving the fourth generation when decrepitude rendered him useless. In this helpless condition, when he was full a hundred years old, his hard-hearted master, to get rid of the expense of his maintenance, drove him from his possessions, leaving him to provide for himself or perish. He was subsequently found in the woods in a state of starvation, and removed to the house of a Friend, where our informant* soon afterwards saw him."

"When I was a boy," said my beloved friend, "on a short ramble from my father's house, I encountered a neighboring farmer, who had a colored citizen tied to a large log or a tree lying on the ground. The man was lying on his face, uncovered from his neck downwards. His driver had been lacerating him most mercilessly, until his back was one entire mass of blood and flesh cut up in pieces, which were commingled and slowly amalgamating together. To complete the tortures of his writhing victim, who could scarcely move on account of the tightness with which his hands, neck and feet were bound to the tree, the citizen-slayer caught a large cat, and so fastened the animal, that in endeavoring to get loose, the cat's talons continually tore the slave's already gory back, until the villain's vengeance was glutted; when he released the cat, administered the usual plaster, *salt, pepper, vinegar, &c.*, and ordered the son of anguish to resume his labor."—*Bourne's Picture of Slavery*, p. 129.

But it may be urged that such instances of barbarity are rare exceptions—that in general, the masters are as kind to their slaves as they *can* be, consistently with keeping them in subjection. But, we ask, How very mild must be the treatment to the slaves, even of those masters who mean to be as mild as they can, when severity is considered to be indispensably requisite for the preservation of order and submission on the part of the enslaved? On this point let us hear the testimony of a gentleman from Alabama, born and bred in the midst of slavery, and, if we mistake not, heir to a slave estate.—He was attempting to give a fair expose of slavery.—After stating many facts relative to the cruelties practised upon the slave, he says, "Lest any one should think that *in general* the slaves are well treated, and these are the exceptions, let me be distinctly understood: *Cruelty is the rule, and kindness the exception.*"†

But there is another feature in the character of American slavery, which merits, if possible, greater detestation than this. We allude to the fact, that the system of slavery annihilates the marriage relation among the enslaved, and exposes to pollution more than half a million of American females. And here we are reminded that we are treading upon delicate ground: but shall we forbear to mention facts in relation to a subject which involves the destinies of millions, because they shock the finer sensibilities of the soul? No—this will never do: the "hidden things of darkness must be brought to light:" the evils of slavery must be portrayed in living colors, and exposed in all their ugly forms to public view: they must be proclaimed in the ear and upon the house-top, that the people may know them, and, knowing them, apply the remedy.

But the tyrant leaves not his victims here. He cannot rest satisfied with being master of the body,—with causing the subjects of his tyranny to be heart-broken, comfortless, and wretched, in this present

* Samuel Knowles. † This exposition was made during a recent debate on the subject of slavery and its remedy at Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio. The testimony of the gentleman from Alabama, that "*cruelty is the rule and kindness the exception*," was assented to, and corroborated, by seven other gentlemen who were born and had always lived in slave States.

life. He must also assume to be dictator of the soul, and endeavor to render them miserable in that which is to come, by carefully withholding from them all external means of obtaining religious instruction, especially a literary education.

"In Georgia, there is a law by which *white* persons who teach any colored person to read or write, are fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court. In Virginia, the same offence is fined not exceeding fifty dollars. In North Carolina, if a white person teach a slave to read or write, or give or sell him *any* book, &c., he is fined from one to two hundred dollars. In Louisiana, any white person, who teaches a slave to read or write, is imprisoned one year.*"

We are expressly commanded by our Lord to "search the Scriptures;" but the laws of the slave States make it a penal offence for any person to teach the slave to read, so that he *can* "search the Scriptures," or give, or sell him any book. How, then, will the Bible Society carry out their noble resolution to supply every family in the United States with a copy of the sacred volume? Well might the Savior say, "Wo unto you, [slave-holders!] for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in."

3. *The effect of slavery on the free colored people, is extremely oppressive.*

The freedom of the free people of color in the United States is merely nominal. The prejudice of their whiter brethren bends them to the earth: it excludes them from the society of the whites;—bars the doors of all our literary institutions against them;—deprives them of enjoyment among themselves;† and subjects them to innumerable civil disabilities,—merely because their color is like that of the slaves. Even in the Northern and Eastern States, where slavery has ceased to be, prejudice, that monster of oppression, the first-born of slavery, still reigns with unlimited sway. When a colored man goes to church, he must not "*disgrace a pew*," but occupy some secluded corner.—He cannot eat at the same table with the white man, nor ride in the same stage; and when he takes passage on board a steamboat, he must not offend the gentlemen in the cabin with his presence—he must brave the weather, and remain on deck.

While the free people of color are objects of universal obloquy and scorn, they are also harrassed with perpetual fears. They are ever in danger of being taken by the kidnappers, torn from kindred, friends and home, and dragged into distant and hopeless bondage.

"In Philadelphia, though remote from a slave market, it has been ascertained that more than thirty free persons of color were stolen and carried off within two years."‡

Dr. Torrey says, "To enumerate all the horrid and aggravated instances of man-stealing, which *are known* to have occurred in the State of Delaware, within the recollection of many of the citizens of that State, would require a volume. In many cases, whole families of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged and bound, and dragged into distant, hopeless captivity, leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds."—*Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 31.

But the nefarious practice of kidnapping freemen is not confined

* Vide *Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 70, 71. † Witness the riots which have recently occurred. ‡ Vide *American Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. 1, p. 105.

within the slave States and their immediate vicinity ; it is common all over the country, and prevails to a greater extent than many are aware. Robert Roberts, of Boston, says—

“There is a *continual stream* of free colored persons from Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and other seaports of the United States, passing through the *CALANOOSE** into slavery in the country.”

4. *The effect of this system on the slave-holder is, vice, poverty, and perpetual dread.*

The effect of slavery on the morals and manners of the slave-holding community, was “drawn to the life by President Jefferson, who lived and died a slave-holder :”—

“The whole commerce,” says he, “between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions ; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it ; for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms,—the child looks on—catches the lineaments of wrath—puts on the same airs in a circle of smaller slaves—gives loose to the worst of passions ; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy, who can retain his morals and manners undepraved in such circumstances.”

The licentiousness which prevails in the slave-holding community, is amply proved by the great amount of mixed population among the slaves.† But these vices of the white men are providing a scourge for themselves. The colored population doubles in about twenty years ; while the number of the whites increases very slowly, and in some places actually diminishes. Hence, the colored people must eventually be the stronger party ; and when this result happens, slavery must be abolished.

That slavery exerts a withering influence on the interest of the South, is admitted by southern men. During a debate in the Virginia Legislature, in the winter of 1832, Mr. Brodnax, a slave-holder, made the following remark :

“That slavery in Virginia is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew which has blighted every region it has touched, from the creation of the world.”

During the same session, Mr. Faulkner, of Virginia, speaking of slavery, said—

“If there be one who concurs with the gentleman from Brunswick in the harmless character of this institution, let me request him to compare the condition of the slave-holding portion of this Commonwealth—barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven, with the descriptions which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable ? Alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery !”

5. *The effect of slavery on the people of the free States, is a growing degradation of the morals, and disregard of the laws.*

Its evils are contagious. They contaminate all who associate with the slave-holding community ; for “evil communications corrupt good manners.” Hence, to this cause, more than any other, may be attributed the increasing tendency to indolence and extravagance which prevails throughout this country. And hence too the lamentable declension of the people of this country from the principles and practi-

* Jail. † Two ladies of the first rank in Virginia affirmed, that the northern citizens were totally incompetent to form any correct idea of a slave plantation. One of them remarked, “We are called wives, and as such are recognized in law ; but we are little more than superintendents of a colored seraglio.”—*Bourne's Picture of Slavery*, p. 92.

ees of true republicanism. The planters, by the constant exercise of tyranny over their slaves, acquire a masterly habit of command :— this they carry with them into our public councils ; and strange would it be, if the manners of those with whom they associate, did not in process of time become more or less tainted with the same despotic airs.

If any evidence were wanting that we are declining from the republican principles of our revolutionary fathers, we have it in the numerous instances of disorder which have occurred within a few months past, to the lasting disgrace of the American country, and the American name. The habitations of free, respectable, unoffending, American citizens, have been assailed by mobs, the furniture demolished, and the inmates exposed to insults and violence ; while the public authorities have, in some cases, either made only weak and unmeaning efforts to restrain the rioters, or looked on idly as if delighted with the sport. Such is the effect of slavery on the principles of the free !

6. *The effect of this system on the politics of the United States, is, alienation of public confidence, jealousy, and discord among the sister States.*

The interests of the North and those of the South, are proverbially diverse ; and *must be*, so long as the interest of the North is vested in the soil, and the interest of the South in the bones and muscles and souls of men. The legislation required for the support and protection of slave-labor, is diametrically opposed to that required for the support and protection of free labor. Hence, the South has uniformly pursued a system of policy calculated for the preservation and extension of slave-power. She has obtained the immense territories of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, for a lasting *slave-market* ; and has increased the slave States, till she has twenty-five *slave votes* in Congress. By the use of this machinery—elected, not by the machinery itself, but by its owners—she has generally, on important measures, succeeded in carrying her points.† But when this has failed, she has uniformly resorted to threats of separation, and not unfrequently has the North been awed into acquiescence.

“ If any proof were wanted that *slavery* is the cause of all this discord, it is furnished by Eastern and Western Virginia. They belong to the same State, and are protected by the same laws ; but in the former, the slave-holding interest is very strong ; while in the latter, it is scarcely any thing. The result is, warfare and continual complaints and threats of separation. There are no such contentions between the different sections of *free States* ; simply because slavery, the exciting cause of strife, does not exist among them.”*

These are some of the evils of negro slavery in the United States—evils which *should* have a remedy.

But it may be said, “ We are not slave-holders—we have nothing to do with slavery : Why then talk about a remedy ? ” It is true that we do not hold slaves ourselves ; but we pay the planters of the South for holding them, when we pay them for the produce of the slave’s unrequited toil. The consumers of slave-produce are the MAINSPRING in the system of slavery. They turn the wheel that “ grinds the faces of the poor,” and the planters hold them on. So long as we forge

* Vide Child’s Appeal, p. 124. † John Quincy Adams, in his Speech on the Tariff, Feb. 1834, said that “ if he should go back to the history of this government from its foundation, it would be easy to prove that its decisions had been effected, in general, by less majorities than that, [the twenty-five slave votes.] Nay, he might go farther, and insist that that very representation had ever been, in fact, the ruling power of this government.”

the shackles which bind the slaves, and manufacture the whips with which they are driven;—so long as we keep open a market for the products of slave labor;—so long as we are pledged to send out our militia to suppress insurrections at the South, whenever the slave shall assert his right to freedom, and aspire to be a MAN;—so long as we deliver up the slaves of the South, who seek refuge amongst us;*—so long as our colored citizens are liable to be seized and dragged into slavery;—so long as there are twenty-six thousand of our fellow-beings bound down in heathenish darkness, under the galling chains of personal servitude, in the District of Columbia, Arkansas and Florida;—so long as “*Washington* is the great emporium of the internal slave trade;”—so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people; it never can be true that “we have nothing to do with slavery.” And so long as the slaves are our fellow-men—our neighbors, and the commands of our Lord remain binding upon us, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,”—“Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;” and so long as we participate in the crime and guilt of slave-holding, we are, certainly, most solemnly bound, not only to *talk* about a remedy for the evils of slavery, but to *do* something;—to “repent instantly,—undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free;”—to advocate the *immediate* substitution of *right* for *wrong*—of freedom for oppression. It is our duty to *do* our duty *now*.

However dangerous the doctrine of *immediate emancipation* may appear to some, the danger exists only in imagination. We know there are persons (and we envy not their feelings) in whose view it is associated with the conflagration of towns and villages—the roll of drums—the yell of savages—the groans of the dying, and rivers of blood; but all this array of the passions is entirely needless, and might have been prevented by the timely exercise of a little reason and a little patient investigation. Does not reason, and even nature itself, teach us, that if the slaves were raised to the full enjoyment of American liberty, their hearts would swell with *gratitude* rather than *revenge*? What was the cause of the dreadful massacres at Southampton, Virginia? Was it the liberation of the slaves, or the kind treatment of their masters? Was it not rather the loss of liberty, and the wrongs insufferable inflicted on the slaves? Yes, slavery itself is the grand cause of slave-insurrections. It goads the slave to desperation and despair, and provokes him to retaliation. Now remove the cause, and the effect will cease. Emancipate the slave and raise him to the condition of a MAN, and all apprehension of danger may be dispensed with; the planter may sleep safely and quietly; for by this one act he will have transformed his most dangerous foes into grateful friends.

The experiments which have already been made in other countries, all go to prove the utility and perfect safety of immediate emancipation, both to *master* and *slave*.

“Bolivar proclaimed liberty to his slaves, and many proprietors followed his example: nearly a million of colored slaves inhabited Colombia at that time, and a large part were immediately emancipated. M. Ravenga declares that the effect has been a degree of docility on the part of the blacks, and a degree of security on the

* “Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee.”—Deut. xxiii. 15

part of the whites, unknown in any preceding period of the history of that republic.

"In speaking of the slaves captured by British vessels, and sent to Sierra Leone, Clarkson says, 'They must have contracted *as mortal a hatred of the whites* from their sufferings on board ship by fetters, whips, and suffocation in the hold, as the West Indian from those severities which are attached to his bondage upon shore. Under these circumstances, then, we find them *made free* ; but, observe, not after any preparatory discipline, but almost *suddenly*, and not *singly*, but *in bodies*, at a time. We find them also settled, or made to live, under the *unnatural* government of the *whites* ; and, what is more extraordinary, we find their present number, as compared with that of the whites in the same colony, nearly as *one hundred and fifty to one* ; notwithstanding which superiority, fresh emancipations are constantly taking place, as fresh cargoes of the captured arrive in port.'

"The abolition of slavery in Mexico, was virtually immediate. The slaves were at once taken from the arbitrary will of their masters, and placed under law. A system of apprenticeship was established, allowing them to apply the compensation received for their labor, to the purchase of themselves and families ; and in seven years, slavery had ceased to exist throughout that great Republic. Dr. Walsh states, that in Brazil, there are more than half a million enfranchised persons, Africans, or of African descent, who were either slaves themselves, or are the descendants of slaves. He says, they are, generally speaking, well-conducted and industrious persons, who compose, indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks."—*New-York City Address, Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. 1, p. 68.*

The St. Domingo revolution, notwithstanding the dreadful massacres which occurred, is very full in point. The circumstances attending this revolution have been so industriously and grossly misrepresented, that we apprehend very few of our fellow-citizens are aware of the real state of facts. No sooner do we begin to talk of the liberation of the slaves, than the ignorant and presuming, and even some of the more intelligent and respectable point the finger at St. Domingo, and exclaim, "Behold the consequences of your measures !" We deem it necessary, therefore, to quote somewhat largely the testimony of Clarkson. In giving a history of the circumstances connected with the revolution, he says—

"When the French Revolution, which declared equality of rights to all citizens, had taken place, the *free people of color* of St. Domingo, many of whom were persons of large property and liberal education, petitioned the National Assembly, that they might enjoy the same political privileges as the *whites* there. At length the subject of the petition was discussed, but not till the 8th of March, 1790, when the Assembly agreed upon a decree concerning it. The decree, however, was worded so ambiguously, that the two parties in St. Domingo, *the whites* and *the people of color* interpreted it each of them in its own favor. This difference of interpretation gave rise to animosities between them, and these animosities were augmented by political party-spirit, according as they were royalists or partisans of the French Revolution, so that disturbances took place, and blood was shed.

"In the year 1791, the people of color petitioned the Assembly again, but principally for an explanation of the decree in question. On the 15th May, the subject was taken into consideration, and the result was another decree in explicit terms, which determined, that *the people of color* in all the French islands were entitled to all the rights of citizenship, provided *they were born of free parents, on both sides*. The news of this decree had no sooner arrived at the Cape, than it produced an indignation almost amounting to frenzy among the *whites*. They directly trampled under foot the national cockade, and with difficulty were prevented from seizing all the French merchant ships in the roads. After this, the two parties armed against each other. Even camps began to be formed. Horrid massacres and conflagrations followed—the reports of which, when brought to the mother-country, were so terrible, that the Assembly abolished the decree in favor of *the free people of color* in the same year.

"In the year 1792, the news of the rescinding of the decree, as now stated, produced, when it reached St. Domingo, as much irritation among the people of color,

as the news of the passing of it had among the whites; and hostilities were renewed between them, so that new battles, massacres, and burnings took place. Suffice it to say, that as soon as these events became known in France, the Conventional Assembly, which had then succeeded the Legislative, took them into consideration. Seeing, however, nothing but difficulties, and no hope of reconciliation on either side, they knew not what other course to take than to do justice, whatever the consequences might be. They resolved, accordingly, in the month of April, that the decree of 1791, which had been both made and reversed by the preceding Assembly in the same year, should stand good. They restored therefore the people of color to the privileges which had been before voted to them, and appointed Santhonax, Polverel, and another, to repair in person to St. Domingo, with a large body of troops, and to act there as commissioners, and, among other things, to enforce the decree, and to keep the peace.

"In 1793, the same divisions and the same bad-blood continuing, notwithstanding the arrival of the commissioners, a very trivial matter, viz., a quarrel between a mulatto and a white man, (an officer in the French marine,) gave rise to new disasters. The quarrel took place on the 20th of June. On the same day, the seamen left their ships in the roads, and came on shore, and made common cause of the affair with the white inhabitants of the town. On the other side were opposed the mulattos and other people of color, and these were afterwards joined by some insurgent blacks. The battle lasted nearly two days. During this time, the arsenal was taken and plundered, and some thousands were killed in the streets, and more than half the town was burnt. The commissioners, who were spectators of this horrible scene, and who had done all they could to restore peace, escaped unhurt; but they were left upon a heap of ruins, and with but little more power than the authority which their commission gave them. They had only about a thousand troops left in the place. They determined, therefore, under these circumstances, to call in the negro slaves in the neighborhood to their assistance. They issued a proclamation in consequence, by which they promised to give freedom to all the blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banners of the republic. This was the first proclamation made by public authority, for emancipating slaves in St. Domingo.—It is usually called the proclamation of Santhonax, though both commissioners had a hand in it: and sometimes, in allusion to the place where it was issued, (the Cape,) the proclamation of the North. The result of it was, that a considerable number of slaves came in and were enfranchised.

"Soon after this transaction, Polverel left his colleague, Santhonax, at the Cape, and went in his capacity of commissioner to Port-au-Prince, the capital of the West. Here he found every thing quiet, and cultivation in a flourishing state. From Port-au-Prince he visited Les Cayes, the capital of the South. He had not, however, been long there, before he found that the minds of the slaves began to be in an unsettled state: They had become acquainted with what had taken place in the north, not only with the riots at the Cape, but the proclamation of Santhonax. Now this proclamation, though it sanctioned freedom only for a particular and temporary purpose, did not exclude it from any particular quarter. The terms therefore appeared to be open to all who would accept them. Polverel, therefore, seeing the impression which it had begun to make upon the minds of the slaves in these parts, was convinced that emancipation could be neither stopped nor retarded, and that it was absolutely necessary for the personal safety of the white planters, that it should be extended to the whole island. He was so convinced of the necessity of this that he drew up a proclamation without further delay to that effect, and put it into circulation.

* * * * * It came out in September, 1793. We may now add, that in the month of February, 1794, the Conventional Assembly of France, though probably ignorant of what the commissioners had now done, passed a decree for the abolition of slavery throughout the whole of the French Colonies. Thus the government of the mother-country, without knowing it, confirmed freedom to those upon whom it had been bestowed by the commissioners. This decree put therefore the finishing stroke to the whole. It completed the emancipation of the whole slave population of St. Domingo. Having now given a concise history of the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo, I shall inquire how those who were liberated on these several occasions conducted themselves after this change in their situation. It is of great importance to us to know, whether they used their freedom properly, or whether they abused it.

"With respect to those emancipated by Santhonax in the north, we have nothing to communicate. They were made free for military purposes only; and we have no clue whereby we can find out what became of them afterwards.

"With respect to those who were emancipated next in the South, and directly afterwards in the West, by the proclamation of Polverel, we are enabled to give a very pleasing account. Fortunately for our views, Colonel Malenfant, who was resident in the island at the time, has made us acquainted with their general conduct and character. His account, though short, is quite sufficient for our purpose. Indeed it is highly satisfactory :—"After this public act of emancipation," says he, (by Polverel,) "*the negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations.* There were estates indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun; and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes *continued their labors*, where there were any, even inferior, agents to guide them; and on those estates where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon *all the plantations* where the whites resided, the blacks *continued to labor as quietly as before.*"

* * * "Such was the conduct of the negroes for the first nine months of their liberation, and up to the middle of 1794. Let us pursue the subject, and see how they conducted themselves after this period.

"During the year 1795 and part of 1796, I learn nothing about them; neither good, bad, nor indifferent; though I have ransacked the French historians for this purpose. Had there however, been any thing in the way of *outrage*, I should have heard of it." * * * "I come now to the latter part of the year 1796; and here happily a clue is furnished me, by which I have an opportunity of pursuing my inquiry with pleasure. We shall find, that from this time there was no want of industry in those who had been emancipated, nor want of obedience in them as hired servants: they maintained, on the other hand, a respectable character."

We have now examined the circumstances attending the St. Domingo revolution, so far as necessary to show that the abolition of slavery in that island, did not produce consequences ill to the *masters*. No blood was spilled in consequence—no lives were lost; but on the attempt of Napoleon to restore slavery, human blood was shed like water. Clarkson thus describes it:—

"In an evil hour, they [the planters] prevailed upon Bonaparte, by false representations and promises of pecuniary support, to restore things to their former state. The hellish expedition at length arrived on the shores of St. Domingo:—a scene of blood & torture followed, such as history had never before disclosed, and compared with which though planned and executed by whites, all the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by the insurgent blacks of the North, amount comparatively to nothing. In fine, the French were driven from the island. Till that time, the planters retained their property; and then it was, but not till then, that they lost their all. * * * In the year 1804, Dessalines was proclaimed emperor of this fine territory. Here I resume the thread of my history, (though it will be but for a moment,) in order that I may follow it to its end. In process of time, the black troops, containing the negroes in question, were disbanded, except such as were retained for the peace establishment of the army. They who were disbanded returned to cultivation. As they were free when they became soldiers, so they continued to be free when they became laborers again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them. They or their descendants are the persons by whom the plains and valleys of St. Domingo are *still cultivated*: and they are reported to follow their occupations still, and with *as fair a character* as any other free laborers in any other quarter of the globe."

Our readers will have perceived by this time, that not a drop of the blood shed during the St. Domingo revolution, can be attributed to IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. When the decree was announced giving freedom to the slave, did he rise and kill his former master? No: Kindness disarmed him.—Justice cooled the heart-burning of revenge. But after he had tasted a little of the sweets of liberty—when Bonaparte's immense armament under Leclerc invaded the island in order to crush him again to the dust,—then it was that mer-

cy retired from the scene while the white man's blood sealed the death-warrant of slavery ;—then followed those horrid massacres and conflagrations which have made so frightful a picture in the history of this unhappy island. The bloodshed which occurred during the civil war immediately preceding the abolition of slavery there, and the dreadful butcheries which followed Bonaparte's attempt to restore it, instead of proving that *immediate emancipation* is unsafe to the community, remind us in tones not to be disregarded, that "violence of oppression engenders violence on the part of the oppressed ;"—that the sin of slavery will not always go unpunished ;—that if the slaveholder *would avert impending judgments, he must "repent instantly," and "let the oppressed go free."*

But we have yet another evidence. The recent "Act" of the British Parliament, abolishing slavery in the British West Indies, which went into effect on the first of August last, has not produced consequences in the least degree injurious to our cause. Where are all those fearful consequences—the blood-shed and burnings, which our enemies a few months ago so confidently predicted? They have not yet occurred, and we trust they never will. We quote the following accounts from the 'Liberator' of September 13th :

"The following notice is from the 'Bermudian' of August 9th:—The first of August, (and even succeeding days) the period that had been so long and anxiously looked forward to, by all classes of the community, has passed away ; nor can we reflect without pleasure, on the peaceable, orderly, and highly exemplary conduct of the people of color, on that, to them more especially, memorable occasion.

"It was feared by some, that the circumstances connected with that day, would have produced a degree of excitement in the liberated slaves, which might have been manifested—particularly under the influence of the less judicious of that class of people—in an extravagant and unbecoming, if not in a disorderly manner ; but such apprehension is now proved to have been entirely without foundation.

"Nothing could exceed their regular, and, we must say, dignified behavior : no processions, no violent ebullition of feeling, no intemperate expression of joy ; and while, no doubt, they felt the full importance of the change in their condition, no unnecessary triumph was manifested."

A correspondent of the New-York Observer, writing from Bermuda, and speaking of the first of August, says—

"The day passed, and the day closed in happiness and peace. It was quite a holiday : The people of color aptly termed it '*Good Friday*.' The next morning all was stir and bustle : masters hiring their late slaves, or the emancipated running about to look for work."

The New-York Mercantile Advertiser says—

"By the schooner *Renown*, we have received Kingston (Jamaica) papers to the 10th ult. It appears from these, that no serious evils had resulted in that Island, in carrying into effect the emancipation law. There was much apprehension at Kingston for several days previous to the day when the law went into operation ; and on that day the shops were closed, and much alarm existed among the inhabitants ; but the negroes received their boon, apparently with much satisfaction, and paraded the streets with shouts of '*Thankee massa! thankee massa! We fa free!*' Accounts from the other principal towns, up to the 9th, state that every thing was quiet, with the exception of slight disturbances on a few estates at St. Ann's."

By an extract of a letter from a Moravian Missionary to a gentleman in New-York, dated at Springfield, Jamaica, August 11th, we understand that these "slight disturbances" arose in consequence of an imperfect understanding on the part of the colored people, of the condition in which they were placed by the "apprenticeship act."

He says, "No part of the island has been disturbed, except a few estates in St. Ann's, where the negroes refused to turn out to work; but as their resistance was *only passive*, and *no violence of any kind* was attempted, I hope they will soon come to a *better understanding of their condition*."

What could the most sanguine abolitionist have expected or asked for, more cheering than this; especially when we remember that Bermuda is one of those islands which have substituted *immediate emancipation* for the *system of apprenticeship*, established by parliament?—Nor do those disturbances at St. Ann's, under the apprenticeship system, militate, in the least, against the practicability and safety of immediate emancipation.* On the contrary, they remind us of the fact, that a gradual repentance—a choosing of our own time for breaking off from our sins, is not only inconsistent in principle, but inefficient in practice; and prove to a demonstration, that any remedy for the evil of slavery, other than the *immediate and entire abolition* of the system, besides being unjust in itself, will always be attended with evil consequences.

If any one, after taking a dispassionate survey of the several instances of trial above quoted, will presume to say that immediate emancipation is dangerous to the community, we ask him to cite one instance in proof of his assertion. We are quite sure it cannot be found in the annals of history or the experience of men. If more than half a million colored slaves in Colombia have been liberated, and the effect has been "*a degree of docility on the part of the blacks, and a degree of security on the part of the whites, unknown in any preceding period of the history of that republic*;" if the captured negroes, who have contracted a "*mortal hatred of the whites*," have been recaptured, sent to Sierra Leone, and set free in bodies at a time, and *have consented to live under the unnatural government of the whites, when the number of the former, as compared with that of the latter, has been nearly as one hundred and fifty to one*;" if the abolition of slavery in Mexico was virtually immediate, and no evil consequence has been known to follow; if, in Brazil, there are more than half a million enfranchised colored people, who are, generally speaking, *well-conducted & industrious persons*; if, in St. Domingo, about five hundred thousand colored slaves were let loose in a single day, with all the vices of slavery upon them, when no notice had been given of the event, & of course no preparation had been made for it, while the wrongs recently inflicted upon them by the whites were yet fresh in their memory, and "*they continued to labor as quietly as before*;" if the freedom of eight hundred thousand colored slaves in the British West Indies, has been secured by an act of the British Parliament, which took effect on the first day of August last, and "*the day passed, and the day closed, in happiness and peace*," and no disastrous consequences have been known to follow since; why may not the slave population of the United States, which constitutes about one-sixth part of the whole, be transferred from the arbitrary will of masters, to the protection and restraint of law—to the enjoyment of "*life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*," with perfect safety to all concerned?

We repudiate the notion, that "if the slaves were liberated, they

* Recent accounts from the West Indies bring news of other disturbances than those at St. Ann's, but all occurring under the *apprenticeship system*."

would migrate to the free States, and there remain—a nuisance and a scourge to the *whites*;—firstly, *because it is altogether improbable.*

While the free colored people are not permitted to enjoy the common privileges of American citizenship in the *slave-holding* States, their emigration to the *non-slave-holding* States, is a necessary consequence; but in case they were emancipated, and recognized by the law as *American citizens*, what incentive would induce them to leave the land of their fathers, their home, and their friends, and roam in a strange country as vagabonds and aliens? But supposing they were *free*, and *determined* to leave the country of their bondage; supposing they were about to depart, with all the world before them, would nature's finger point to the sterile soil of New-England, or to the boundless region of fertile land in the West?

And, secondly, *Because it is impossible.*

The labor of the blacks cannot and will not be dispensed with by the planters of the South. J. G. Whittier says—

"It is a fact, strongly insisted upon by our southern brethren, as a reason for the perpetuation of slavery, that their climate and peculiar agriculture will not admit of hard labor on the part of the whites. That amidst the fatal *malaria* of the rice plantations, the white man is almost annually visited by the country fever;—that few of the white overseers of these plantations reach the middle period of ordinary life;—that the owners are compelled to fly from their estates as the hot season approaches, without being able to return until the first frosts have fallen. But we are told that the *slaves* remain there, at their work, mid-leg in putrid water; breathing the noisome atmosphere, loaded with contagion; and underneath the scorching fervor of a terrible sun;—that they indeed suffer; but that their habits, constitutions, and their long practice enable them to labor, surrounded by such destructive influences with comparative safety."

Now if the "climate and peculiar agriculture" of the Southern States "will not admit of hard labor on the part of the whites," how are our southern brethren to get a living when the blacks all leave them? It is folly only to think of it.

Again, abolitionists are accused of seeking to amalgamate the white and colored races. But this is not true: so far from it, they desire that the present disgraceful system of amalgamation, which prevails throughout the slave-holding States, might be immediately broken up.* And we hope that our measures will effect this desirable object. Indeed, we are quite sure that nothing short of the abolition of slavery *can* do away this horrid practice.

But, says one, "If you would stop here—if you would be content-

* The following extract will serve to show what this system of amalgamation is:—"In the lower countries of Virginia," says Bourne in his 'Picture of Slavery,' "this white-washing system and these amalgamating processes, were carried on to a diabolical perfection. A picture of one plantation will serve for the whole. I was riding alone, and had pursued my solitary route from Charlottesville during the whole day. Toward sunset my attention was arrested by a large crowd of colored people collected close by the road. * * * I think I counted nearly a hundred full-grown colored persons: the surrounding juniors defied all my arithmetic. There was every distinguishable shade of complexion from Congo black to that sallow, which the ingenuity of an artist can scarcely define. While I was musing upon this unusual display of domestic purity and American freedom, a true Virginian rode up and accosted me, 'You are from a distance, stranger, I see.' I replied, 'Yes, and have met with a curiosity,' pointing to the field near us. 'Well, that's a good one,' he retorted. * * * 'Sure enough, you know nothing about our ways here near Richmond.' I begged him to explain the secret to me. 'Major E.,' he retorted, 'is too cunning to buy negroes; he breeds and sells them.' I asked, 'But what has that to do with the twenty different shades of colors on the faces of the motley group?' He again laughed aloud, and then proceeded to divulge the Major's process of multiplying and white-washing his slaves. * * * According to my companion's account, there was a regular system established, by which it was scarcely possible for a child to be born without having some approximation to white, beyond that of the darkest of its generators; & that between the Major and his boys, and the overseer and his son and their other artificers, he presumed that soon he would not have one real black person on the plantation."

ed with the *abolition of slavery*, well enough ; but you contend for the *elevation of the enfranchised to an equality with the whites*, and this cannot be effected without intermarriage ; therefore, you seek the amalgamation of the races." But we never said that the colored people cannot be elevated without intermarrying with the whites. This is not our doctrine ; it is the doctrine of our adversaries,—and a strange doctrine too. On the contrary, abolitionists believe and affirm, that if the colored people were raised from the condition of *brutes* to the condition of MEN,—if they were instructed in literature and science, in morals and the arts of civilized life,—if the marriage covenant among them were acknowledged sacred, and they were protected in all their domestic relations,—they would then seek alliance chiefly among themselves ; and consequently amalgamation, to a very great extent would cease.

Again, immediate emancipation is opposed on the supposition, that "it would place the enfranchised slaves in a condition worse than slavery itself ;" that "they would be unable to provide for themselves, if they were made free." But this objection we have already answered. The answer reads thus : "By immediate emancipation we do not mean that the slaves shall be turned loose upon the nation, &c., but we mean, that they shall be placed under a benevolent and disinterested supervision, which shall *secure* to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, to accumulate wealth," &c. But we would not have them always under this supervision. In a little time they would obtain a sufficiency of secular knowledge to enable them to transact their own affairs, and then the supervision might be dispensed with. But if this be not satisfactory ; if it be urged that no such provision would be made ; that, therefore, the objection is not removed, we will appeal next to facts, in order to show that they *could* provide for themselves.

Dr. Walsh states, that in Brazil, the benefits arising from the enfranchisement of six hundred thousand colored persons, "have disposed the whites to think of making free the whole negro population."—[*Vide Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 92.]

The mixed population of Sierra Leone, consisting of suddenly emancipated slaves—runaway slaves—criminal slaves—and degraded recaptured negroes, are, in their free condition, living in order, tranquility, and comfort, and many of them in affluence.—[*Idem*, p. 90.]

A Vermont gentleman who had been a slave-holder in Mississippi, and afterwards resident at Metamoras, in Mexico, speaking of the abolition of slavery in that republic, says, "The value of the plantations was soon increased by the introduction of free labor. No one was made poor by it. It gave property to the servant, and increased the riches of the master."—[*Idem*, p. 97.]

"The South African Commercial Advertiser of February 9th, 1831, says, "Three thousand prize negroes have received their freedom ; four hundred in one day ; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred : servants found masters—masters hired servants : all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen."—[*Idem*, p. 96.]

Harvey, in his Sketches of Hayti or St. Domingo, says, "It was an interesting sight to behold this class of the Haytians, now in possession

of their freedom, coming in groups to the market nearest which they resided, bringing the produce of their industry for sale; and afterwards returning, carrying back the necessary articles of living which the disposal of their commodities had enabled them to purchase; all evidently cheerful and happy."—[*Idem*, p. 89.]

The manumitted slaves settled in Nova Scotia by the British Government, at the close of the American Revolution, "led a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people from their white neighbors."*

At the close of the last American war, some hundreds of slaves who had escaped from their masters and joined the British standard, were shipped to Trinidad as free laborers; but the planters of Trinidad started an objection against receiving them: they "were sure that no free negroes would ever work, and therefore that the slaves in question would, if made free and settled among them, support themselves by plunder." They were however received; and "these very men," says Clarkson, "formerly slaves in the southern States of America, and afterwards emancipated in a body at Trinidad, are now earning their livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away."† "Mr. Mitchell, a sugar-planter, who had resided twenty-seven years in Trinidad, and who is the superintendent of the liberated negroes there, says he knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not maintaining himself."—[*See Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 91.]

In 1793, liberty was proclaimed universally to the slaves in Guadeloupe; and, "during their ten years of freedom, their governors bore testimony to their regular industry and uninterrupted submission to the laws."—[*See idem*, p. 89.]

By returns from fourteen of the Slave Colonies, laid before the House of Commons in 1826, including a period of five years, from January 1, 1821, to December 31, 1825, it appears, that the proportion of white, to that of colored paupers, in the same number of persons, was, in the Bahamas, nearly as two to one—in Barbadoes, as three hundred and nine to one—in Berbice, as twelve to one—in Demarara, as five to one—in Dominica, as nine to one—in Jamaica, as four to one—in Nevis, as twenty-eight to one—in Tortola, as fourteen to one—and in St. Christophers, as eight to one.

"In short, in a population of free black and colored persons, amounting to from eighty thousand to ninety thousand, only two hundred and twenty-nine persons have received any relief whatever as paupers, during the years 1821 to 1825; and these chiefly the concubines and children of destitute whites;—while, of about sixty-five thousand whites, in the same time, sixteen hundred and seventy-five received relief. The proportion therefore, of enfranchised persons receiving any kind of aid as paupers in the West Indies, is about one in three hundred and seventy:—whereas the proportion among the whites of the West Indies, is about one in forty."—[*Vide idem*, pp. 91, 95.]

Here are twenty-two cases of negro emancipation: and not in one instance have the subjects of trial proved either unwilling or unable to maintain themselves. In two of the above instances they are taken

* Clarkson's Plea for Anti-Slavery Reporters, p. 25. † See Clarkson's Thoughts, Anti-Slavery Reporters, p. 25.

from the *southern States* of America, and yet it is urged that the slaves of the South, who now maintain themselves and their masters, could not provide for *themselves* if they were made free !

Again, it is said by some, who admit that slavery is an evil and ought to be abolished, that all our exertions to abolish it will only serve to make the slave more stubborn, and the master more severe ; thus increasing, instead of mitigating the sufferings of the slave.

To suppose that the benevolent interposition of the humane would tend to increase the obstinacy of the slave, is as ridiculous as it is absurd. He knows by *experience* that he cannot effect his own deliverance : reason teaches, then, that he would hail with gratitude, the exertions of those who are laboring for his good ; and that instead of rivetting his own fetters more firmly, he would quietly suffer his friends to break them. We maintain, therefore, that no such consequence as obstinacy on the part of the slave will result. But we admit that the agitation of the subject may, for a short time, serve to increase the violence of the oppressor ; yet this opposes no barrier to the progress to our cause : Indeed, it is decidedly in our favor ; for such aggravated cruelty will serve to make slavery more detestable in the eyes of the people, and to hasten its overthrow. The expostulation of Moses with Pharaoh in behalf of his brethren, the Hebrews in bondage, had a similar effect : “ And Pharaoh commanded the same day the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore : let them go and gather straw for themselves.”* Yet this increased severity returned upon the heads of the oppressors, that they were *glad* to “ let the people go : ” “ And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste ; for they said, We be all dead men.”† Indeed, history *teems* with like instances of encouragement for the oppressed. And notwithstanding the sufferings of the slave may be a little more numerous and severe while the subject is in agitation, yet his freedom were a blessing even at such a price as this. A strange philanthropy indeed ! which, in order to save the present generation of slaves a little increase of suffering, would have the tremendous system of oppression go rolling onward, crushing and destroying, not only the present generation, but all their posterity for ages yet to come !

Again, we hear another objector say, “ I know the slaves have an inalienable right to freedom, and ought to be immediately emancipated ; but the government of the United States has acknowledged and secured to the planters a legal right to hold slaves as property, and therefore it ought to compensate the planters for emancipating their slaves.”

Had the government of the United States instituted the system of slavery, and *compelled* the planters to vest their capital in slaves, they would have had a just claim on the government for compensation.— But this was not the case. Slavery existed prior to the formation of our national compact. The government is not therefore accountable for the introduction of slavery into this country : it is only accountable for having allowed it to remain. The argument, therefore, in favor of *compensation*, must be simply this : Because the government

* Exodus v. 6. 7. † Exodus xii. 33

of the United States has permitted the planters to hold slaves these fifty-eight years—because it has done the planters this favor, (if favor it may be called,) it ought also, now that slavery, like an old worn out horse, has nearly run its course, to do the planters one favor more, and buy slavery off their hands.

But we maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters, emancipating their slaves—Because it would be a surrender of the very principle on which all our action is based—THAT MAN CANNOT HOLD PROPERTY IN MAN;—Because “Slavery is a crime, and therefore is not an article to be sold;—Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim: freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owners: it is not *wronging* the master, but *righting* the slave—restoring him to himself;—Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy *nominal*, not *real* property: it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them *doubly* valuable to the masters as free laborers.”

It would be *doubly* unjust then, for the planters, emancipating their slaves, to receive any compensation. What! must a man be *hired* to repent of his sins?—to cease from robbery, outrage and wrong? Must he be *hired* to have mercy upon his own soul? Such wild, fantastic notions will find few advocates among sober and reflecting minds.

Again, we are cited to the riots which have recently occurred at New-York, Philadelphia, and other places, and told that we may as well resign our abolition plans, or, at least, suspend our operations till the rising tide of public sentiment and indignation shall have passed away. But we answer, that those very riots are the legitimate offspring of slavery: they originated in prejudice against the people of color, and are nothing more than ebullitions of the *hidden spirit of slavery*. So far then, from relaxing our efforts at cutting down the tree which bears this bitter fruit, it ought to stimulate us to increased exertion.

If, in this land of FREEDOM and of LAWS, the mouths of the people are to be muzzled by the arm of brute force;—if we may not enjoy freedom of speech and of the press—rights which are guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States;—if the will of an infuriated mob is to be the grand tribunal of the day—we may as well bid adieu to AMERICAN LIBERTY! for the sun of freedom is set;—wasting, wailing, and the reign of despotism are near! And now, since the high hand of tyranny has driven us, unaware, to the brink of destruction, we are kindly informed that we may as well resign our abolition plans, or, at least, suspend our operations, till the public mind shall become enlightened—till public sentiment shall become reformed:—that is, we may as well give up all hope—quietly submit to our fate—and let slavery hurry us all together down the precipice of national destruction; or, at least, retreat, and leave the field to the foe, in mawkish, silent insignificance, till the tyrant himself shall become an abolitionist. But, we ask, how is the public mind to become enlightened, and public sentiment reformed? How is the tyrant himself to become converted, if abolitionists suspend their operations, and no one speaks or writes upon the subject? Such cowardly resignation

to our enemies is inimical to the character of *free Americans*. It is not the "spirit of the pilgrims." It is the pagan Hindoo, stretching himself before the ear of Juggernaut.

Again, it is said, that "*the South will brook no farther agitation of the subject—that the abolitionists must desist, or they will dissolve the Union.*" But the truth is, that *SLAVERY is fast dissolving the Union*—that the abolitionists must persevere until this fruitful cause of discord among the States be removed, or our republican government will soon be irretrievably lost. Already do the pillars of that fabric begin to tremble;—often do we hear of complaints and threats of separation: and shall we look on idly, and not make a single effort to arrest the onward progress of approaching ruin? No: it is the duty of every lover of his country to search out the cause, and to labor for its removal. The question therefore is, What is the cause of all this political discordance? Now the effect cannot be produced before the existence of the cause. The New-England Anti-Slavery Society* commenced its operations no longer ago than January, 1832, and not till a much later period, did the doctrine of immediate emancipation produce much excitement. But we heard forebodings of dissolution and threats of separation long before this time. The formation of Anti-Slavery Societies, therefore, is not the cause: What then is the cause? what, but the abhorrent system of slavery?

Such a state of things, it is evident, cannot continue long; for the cause which now works will continue to work, till it has worked the overthrow of the nation. It is our duty, therefore, to seek the removal of this cause; and to seek it by means which cannot endanger the security of our national compact.

What course then shall we pursue? Shall we "*colonize the FREE people of color* residing in our country, in Africa," that *SLAVERY may cease to be*? Shall we remove the *victims* of oppression from the scene of violence, and let the *ACCURSED SYSTEM remain*? Or shall we, by moral means, drive *slavery* from the country, and let its *victims* remain?

We consider that any institution which professes to aim, either directly or indirectly, at the abolition of slavery, and does not acknowledge the right of the emancipated to a home in the land of their nativity, is not entitled to the confidence of a christian public, or the patronage of the American people. Hence, we have no fellowship with the principles or plans of the American Colonization Society.—Not that we condemn the *motives* of those who support it:—understand us—it is not the *men* but the *principles* that we oppose.

Indeed, we have no doubt that very many have contributed to its funds out of motives purely philanthropic, really supposing that they were aiding in works of benevolence. Yet no motives of respect for individuals can induce us to support or encourage an institution which banishes our own fellow-citizens to exile, for no other cause than the unholy prejudice of the whites against the complexion which God has given them; nor even to connive at the oppressive tendencies of its operations.

And now, without any design to impugn the motives of those who support the American Colonization Society, we will state briefly, and

* The oldest Anti-Slavery Society in the United States of which we have any knowledge

as comprehensively as possible, some of the reasons which induce us to oppose it, proving them, chiefly, from the Annual Reports of the Society, the African Repository,* and the speeches and writings of some of its leading members.

Reason 1.—Because it censures the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies.

Proof.—"The Society" * * * "having declared that it is in no wise allied to any Abolition Society in America, or elsewhere, is ready, whenever there is need, to pass a censure on such Societies in America."—[*Speech of Mr. Harrison of Virginia, Fifteenth Annual Report.*]

2.—Because it is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.

Proof.—"It is no Abolition Society; it addresses as yet arguments to no master, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general."—[*The Colonization Society vindicated.*—*African Repository*, Vol. iii. p. 197.]

"The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of Abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. Into their accounts the subject of emancipation does not enter at all."—[*N. E.*—*Idem*, p. 306.] "From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate." * * * "The Society presents to the American public no project of emancipation."—[*Henry Clay's Speech.*—*Idem*, Vol. vi. pp. 13, 17.]

"It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property."—[*Report of the Kentucky Colonization Society.*—*Idem*, p. 81.]

"The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society."—[*Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, to its Auxiliary Societies.*—*Idem*, Vol. vii. p. 291.]

3.—Because it excuses slavery, and apologizes for slave-holders.

Proof.—"Slavery is an evil which is entailed upon the present generation of slave-holders, which they must suffer whether they will or not."—[*African Repository*, Vol. v. p. 197.]

"It [the Society] condemns no man because he is a slave holder."—[*Idem*, Vol. vii. p. 200.]

"The existence of slavery among us, though not at all to be objected to our southern brethren as a fault, &c."—[*Second Annual Report of the New-York State Colonization Society.*]

"They do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnapper with the misfortune of the owner of imported and inherited slaves."—[*North American Review*, for July, 1832.]

"Recognizing the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates. Acknowledging the necessity by which its present continuance and the rigorous provisions for its maintenance are justified, &c."—[*Opinions in reply to Cains Cracchus.*—*African Repository*, Vol. iii. p. 16.]

"They are convinced that there are now hundreds of masters who are so only from necessity."—[*Memorial of the Society to the several States.*—*Idem*, Vol. ii. p. 60.]

"Hundreds of humane and Christian slave-holders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because they are convinced that they can do no better."—[*Address of the Managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut.*—*Idem*, Vol. iv. p. 120.]

4.—Because it regards the slaves as property, and therefore acknowledges the infernal principle, that man can hold property in man.

Proof.—"We hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED."—[*African Repository*, Vol. I, p. 283.]

* The African Repository is a periodical published at Washington, under the direction of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society; our readers will understand, therefore, that the language of the Repository is the language of the Society itself.

"To the slave-holder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the *rights of property* under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your *rights*, [say they] *and we respect them.*"—[*Idem*, Vol. vii. p. 100.]

"It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner, the tenure by which a *certain species of property is held*. He was himself a slave-holder: and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country."—[*Speech of Henry Clay—First Ann. Report.*]

5.—Because it denounces the immediate abolition of slavery, as injustice to the masters, and no blessing to the slaves; as dangerous to society, and contrary to the requirements of Christianity.

Proof.—"The inhabitants of the South cannot, and ought not, suddenly to emancipate their slaves, to remain among them free. Such a measure would be no blessing to the slaves, but the very madness of self-destruction to the whites."—[*First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Colonization Society.*]

"Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slave holders in our land, it would by no means require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated."—[*African Repository*, Vol. v. p. 329.]

6.—Because it contends that emancipation should not take place without the simultaneous transportation of the liberated—thus leaving to the slave the choice of banishment or perpetual servitude, and thus allowing that it is proper to cease from robbery and sin by a slow process.

"*Proof.*"—"All emancipation, to however small an extent, which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country, is an evil which must increase with the increase of the operation."—[*First Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.*]

"Colonization, to be correct, must be beyond the seas—Emancipation, with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is but an act of dreamy madness!"—[*Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society.*]

"The Society maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, *but from the whole country*; that is, of being colonized."—[*North American Review*, for July, 1832.]

7.—Because its measures are calculated to perpetuate the system of slavery, to remove the fears of the slave-holder, and to increase the value of his stock of human beings.

Proof.—"But is it not certain" * * * "that they [the people of the Southern States] will contribute more effectually to the continuance and strength of this system, [slavery] by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised?"—[*African Repository*, Vol. i. p. 227.]

"So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property."—[*Speech of John Randolph, at the First Meeting of the American Colonization Society.*]

"The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind."—[*African Repository*, Vol. ii. p. 344.]

"So far from its having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it would be viewed as an *additional guard to our peculiar species of property.*"—[*An Advocate of the Society, in the New Orleans Argus.*]

"None are obliged to follow our example; *and those who do not, will find the value of their negroes increased by the departure of ours.*"—[*An Advocate of Colonization in the Western (Ky.) Luminary.*]

8.—Because it denies the power of the gospel to overcome prejudice, and maintains that no moral or educational means can ever raise the colored population from their degradation to respectability and usefulness in this country.

"*Proof*.—"In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impassable line of demarkation between every man who has *one drop* of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings—all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor *education*, nor *RELIGION ITSELF*, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation, *inevitable* and *incurable*. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can NEVER RISE, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may."

* * * "They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed."—[*African Repository*, Vol. iv. pp. 118, 119.]

"We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others.* It is not *our* fault that we have failed: it is not *theirs*. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we, nor they, can ever have control: [that is to say, they have colored skins!!] Here, therefore, they must be *forever debased*;—more than this, they must be *forever useless*;—more even than this, they must be *forever a nuisance*, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. *And yet they, and they only, are qualified for colonizing Africa!*"—[*Idem*, Vol. v. p. 276.]

"Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but an ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE,† and no more to be changed than the laws of nature!" [Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 17.]

9.—Because, while it professes to remove those emigrants only, who go "with their own consent," to Africa, it cruelly persecutes the free people of color, by removing some, contrary to their own wishes, to the sickly shore of Africa, where they become a prey to the disease of an *un-constitutional* climate, and sometimes suffer much from want; and by traducing the character of those who remain, representing them as useless, seditious, and dangerous to the community.

"*Proof*.—"And yet they sent out two ship loads of VAGABONDS not fit to go to such a place, and that were COERCED away as truly as if it had been done with a CART-WHITE."—[Speech of Robert J. Breckenridge, at the last Anniversary of the American Colonization Society.]

"Dr. Meehlin, the Colonial Agent, who had just returned, stated, that of six hundred and forty nine emigrants who arrived last in Liberia, one hundred and thirty-four have died already."—[*Emancipator*, Vol. ii. p. 1.]

"Of all misery and poverty, and all repining that my imagination had ever conceived, it had never reached what my eyes now saw, and my ears heard. Hundreds of poor creatures, squalid, ragged, hungry, without employment—some actually starving to death, and all praying most fervently that they might get home to America once more. Even the emancipated slave craved the boon of returning again to bondage that he might once more have the pains of hunger satisfied. There are hundreds there who say they would rather come back and be slaves, than stay in Liberia. They would sit down and tell us their tale of suffering and of sorrow, with such a dejected and wo-begone aspect, that it would almost break our hearts. They would weep as they would talk of their sorrows here, and their joys in America; and we mingled our tears freely with theirs. This part of the population included, as near as we could judge, *two-thirds* of the inhabitants of Monrovia." *Samuel Jones's journal of a visit to Liberia*—J. G. Birney's Letter to T. J. Mills.]

"What is the free black to the slave?....A standing, perpetual incitement to discontent."—[Fifteenth Annual Report.]

"They constitute a large mass of human beings, who hang as a vile excrescence upon society—the objects of a low debasing envy to our slaves, and to ourselves, of universal suspicion and distrust."—[*African Repository*, Vol. vii. p. 230.]

"By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive."—[*Idem*, Vol. i. p. 176.]

10.—Because it justifies keeping the slaves ignorant.

* But how have they endeavored to do all this?—By representing them as dangerous, seditious and useless?—By telling the world that they can never rise, be their talents, their enterprise, their virtues what they may? † How long will sinners pain their sins upon Jehovah!

Proof.—"It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance."—[*Proceedings of New-York State Colonization Society, at its second Anniversary*.]

"It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves."—[*Seventh Annual Report*.]

"If the free colored people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country. We would offer them no such inducement."—[*Southern Religious Telegraph, February 19, 1831*.]

11.—Because it justifies the atrocious laws which have been enacted against the free colored and slave population.

Proof.—"Such unhappily is the case; but there is a necessity for it, [for oppressive laws,] and so long as they remain among us will that necessity continue."—[*Ninth Annual Report*.]

"Policy, and even the voice of humanity forbade the progress of manumission; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardor of our desires."—[*African Repository, Vol. iv. p. 168*.]

"We do not ask that the provisions of our Constitution and Statute Book should be so modified as to relieve and exalt the condition of the colored people, whilst they remain with us. LET THESE PROVISIONS STAND IN ALL THEIR RIGOR."—[*Memorial of the New-York Colonization Society*.]

12.—Because it deceives the people and misleads the nation, by presenting one aspect at the South, and another entirely different at the North. While it is represented at the North as the only remedy yet devised for the evils of slavery, it is represented at the South as the most efficient means to strengthen and perpetuate the system.—The people of the North are solicited to contribute on the score of *benevolence*, and those of the South on the score of *self-interest*.

PROOF.

NORTH.

"We desire the utter abolition of slavery in the speediest and best manner in which it can be accomplished; and in the face of whatever friends or foes have said, or may hereafter say of the Colonization Society, its principles, motives, or designs, we declare, that we recognize the right of colored men to freedom. We hold the whole system of slavery in utter abhorrence. We do not admit the principle that man can be the property of man. We recognize also the right of the colored people to a home in this country: it is as really their country, as it is ours. Nor do we say they cannot in this country be elevated to an equality, in all respects, with the white population. Christianity and other conspiring influences, can, and we trust, sooner or later, will thus elevate them."—[*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Vermont Col. Society*.]

"We have hoped, and still hope, that the operations of this Society would facilitate this desirable object, [the abolition of slavery.] We know that many of its founders have regarded the plan of the Society as the only method yet devised that shed on this object the least ray of hope."—[*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Vt. Col. Society*.]

"Who has not known a solicitor for a subscription to this or that benevolent object, suggest to the person solicited, that a donation for the proposed object, would either directly or indirectly promote his own interest? We wish every man to be urged to give from motives purely benevolent. We wish every man to give for the noble, the god-like purpose of doing good to others."—[*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Vt. Col. Society*.]

SOUTH.

"It disclaims, and always has disclaimed, all intention whatever, of interfering in the smallest degree, direct or indirect, with THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-HOLDERS, THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. It knows that THE OWNERS OF SLAVES ARE THE OWNERS AND NO ONE ELSE."—[*An Advocate of the Society, in the New-Orleans Argus*.]

"It is not therefore incumbent upon those who hold slaves, to set them at liberty, till some means are provided for their removal."—[*African Repository, Vol. v. p. 89*.]

"Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, PROBABLY FOREVER, a separate and inferior cast, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor CHRISTIANITY can remove?"—[*Idem, Vol. vii. p. 196*.]

"The TENDENCY of the scheme, and one of its OBJECTS, is to secure slave-holders, and the whole southern country, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present three-fold mixture of our population."—[*Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society, Idem, Vol. iv. p. 274*.]

"The slave-holder, who is in danger of having his slaves contaminated by their free friends of color, will not only be relieved from this danger, but the value of his slave will be enhanced."—[*Humanitas, a Colonization Advocate. Baltimore. 1820*.]

"It was on the ground of interest, therefore, THE MOST INDISPUTABLE PECUNIARY INTEREST, that he addressed himself to the people and legislatures of the slave-holding States."—[*Speech of Mr. Archer.—Fifteenth Ann. Report*.]

Thus the benevolence of the North and the selfishness of the South unite in one channel at Washington, the office of the Parent Society; and on these mingled waters, the free colored citizens of the United States are borne away to exile or to death! Yes, the good people of the North are ignorantly binding stronger and stronger the galling chains of slavery on the very objects of their benevolence! It is time they should know it.

13.—Because it was conceived, perfected, and is managed chiefly by slave-holders.

Proof.—“About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, mostly slave-holders, formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society.”—[*Address of the Rockbridge Colonization Society.*—*Idem*, Vol. iv. p. 274.]

“They are, themselves, chiefly slave-holders, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slave-holding community.”—[*Memorial of the Society to the several States—African Repository*, Vol. ii. p. 60.]

“Let me repeat, the friends of the Colonization Society, three-fourths of them ARE SLAVE-HOLDERS.”—[*The Colonization Society vindicated*, Vol. iii. p. 202.]

14.—Because it is held in abhorrence by the free people of color, wherever they possess liberty of speech and the means of intelligence, as a scheme full of evil to themselves and to their enslaved brethren.

Proof.—The following Resolution, it will be perceived, expresses the mind of the free colored people throughout the nation:

“RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE NATIONAL COLORED CONVENTION, HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, IN 1831.—‘The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society; and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent and worth, that, in our humble opinion, strengthened too, by the opinions of eminent men in this country, as well as in Europe, that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetual slavery, with all its unchristian-like concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom; and, as citizens and men whose best blood is sapped to gain popularity for that institution, we would, in the most feeling manner, beg of them to desist: or, if we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home. Many of our fathers, and some of us, have fought and bled for the liberty, independence and peace which you now enjoy; and, surely, it would be ungenerous and unfeeling in you to deny us an humble and quiet grave in that country which gave us birth.’”—[*First Annual Report of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society*, p. 40.]

Resolutions to similar effect have been passed by the colored inhabitants of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, and no less than fifteen other cities and principal towns in the United States.

15.—Because the Colony which it has established at Liberia facilitates the slave-trade.

Proof.—“On the 6th of April, 1832, the British House of Commons ordered the printing of a document entitled ‘Slave-Trade in Sierra Leone,’ containing official evidence of the fact that the pirates engaged in the African slave-trade, are supplied from the stores of Sierra Leone and Liberia, with such articles as the infernal traffic demands!”—[*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. i. p. 77.]

“That the African slave-traders do get thus supplied at Sierra Leone and Liberia, is matter of official evidence: and we know from the nature of human things, that they will get supplied in defiance of all law or precaution, as long as the demand calls for the supply, and there are free shops stored with all they want at hand.”—[*Prejudice Vincible*, by C. Stuart.]

In short, we oppose the American Colonization Society, because it is the uncompromising enemy of the immediate abolition of slavery;—because it excuses slavery as a NECESSARY EVIL, and boldly advocates its continuance;—because it immolates the free people of color on the altar of prejudice, to pamper the pride of high-minded whites—thus adding fuel to the fire which we are endeavoring to extinguish: or, in other words, because it is in our way* to the attack

* Robert J. Breckinridge, an eminent advocate of the Colonization Society, in a speech at its last Anniversary, very pertinently remarked, “Let the slave-holder beware how he drives us away. We stand in the breach for him to keep off the abolitionist.”

of slavery, and must be removed before our object can be attained.

If any of our readers apprehend that the character of the Colonization Society is not fairly represented by the above extracts, we ask them to turn to those articles from which they are taken, to the Annual Reports and the African Repository, and to the speeches and writings, in general, of the Colonizationists, and read for themselves: we want no better arguments. It is our *object* to stir up inquiry. We do not ask our fellow-citizens to form their opinions upon our assertion, and to act upon a hear-say belief: we wish them to examine for themselves. It is not our design to do the Colonization Society injustice, but we wish the public fully to understand its character. It has boasted that much good would result to Africa from the establishment of a colony at Liberia,—that it would civilize and evangelize that dark quarter of the globe. But the mode of civilizing and christianizing a *heathen land*, by a colony, consisting of people too VICIOUS AND DEPRAVED to live in *civilized society*, and supplied with stores of RUM, GUNPOWDER, and SPEAR-POINTED KNIVES, is preposterous and wild. “Each emigrant,” says Henry Clay, the champion of the Society, “is a missionary, carrying with him CREDENTIALS* in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.” But who are these emigrants, these missionaries? The free people of color.—“They, and they only,” says the African Repository, “are QUALIFIED for colonizing Africa.” But how are they qualified? Let the Society answer in its own words:

“Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.”—[*African Repository*, Vol. ii. p. 328.]

“An anomalous race of beings, the most debased upon earth.”—[*Id.* Vol. vii. p. 230.]

And how far has the Society succeeded in the accomplishment of this glorious enterprize? The Rev. J. B. Pinney, Missionary to Liberia, in a letter dated February 20, 1833, says —

“But two or three have hitherto done any thing scarcely towards agriculture. The wealthy find it easier to trade; the poor suppose it degrading. * * * Nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants. * * * As little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the condition of the lower.”

J. R. Dailey, a gentleman who has been for several years established as a merchant in Liberia, says that about four hundred tunst† of RUM are sold in Liberia in a year.‡ The Liberia Herald also shows that rum, gunpowder, muskets, and spear-pointed knives, are sold at Liberia as principal articles of commerce.

In the “Herald” of “September 7th, 1832,” the Reverend “C. M. Waring offers for sale,” among other articles,

- “1196 gallons Rum,
- “250 kegs powder,
- “140 Muskets,
- “50 doz. black-handle spear-pointed knives.”

And this is the way in which the American Colonization Society is civilizing and evangelizing Africa!

But we have other evidence of a still more painful and revolting character. The following is an extract from the African Repository.

* What are these credentials? rum, gunpowder, and spear-pointed knives? † Equal to 3000 barrels. ‡ Vide Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. i. p. 96.

It shows *how* Africa is to become "the joy of many nations"—"the praise of the whole earth." It shows that missionary effort is driven to the very heart, not by the power of *truth*, but by the force of *powder*.

The Reverend Mr. Ashmun, describing an engagement he had with the native tribes in the neighborhood of Liberia, says—

"Eight hundred men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form that a child might easily walk on their heads, from one end of the mass to the other, presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform at only from thirty to sixty yards distance. Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of human flesh!"

Are the good people of this country, the professors of that religion which breathes "peace on earth and good will toward men," prepared, in view of facts like this, to say to Liberia, "Go on: and may the Lord prosper thee in thy works of benevolence?" Are they prepared to give their money and their influence in aid of such anti-christian measures for diffusing gospel light? We answer, No! And yet many of them have done this, and still do it, simply because *the facts are not known*. If any of our readers still view the American Colonization Society as a *benevolent institution*, and still entertain the idle expectation that it will yet succeed in the accomplishment of its object, the removal of the entire colored population of this country to Africa, we ask their attention to a serious consideration of the following facts:—

"The Society was organized in the year 1817. It has two hundred and eighteen Auxiliaries. The Legislatures of fourteen States have recommended it. Addresses in its favor have been heard from all our pulpits: and contributions have poured into its treasury from every quarter of the United States."

It has been in operation nearly eighteen years, and has carried away nearly three thousand free people of color. The Society is now forty thousand dollars in debt,* and there are now nearly a million more colored people in the United States than there were in the year 1817. Now let the funds of the Society be replenished, so that it may remove only the increase, and keep the number of the colored population stationary, and it would require five million six hundred thousand dollars a year, to secure our southern brethren against the danger of slave insurrections in this way.† Again, let the Society take hold in good earnest, and remove the whole at once, (for there is nothing gained by delay, since the blacks increase quite as fast as money,) and it would require more than two hundred million dollars to execute the plan—a sum (to use the language of Hayne) sufficient to bankrupt the treasury of the world. When the Green Mountains can be cast by atoms into Lake Champlain,—when the Chesapeake can be drained of its rushing waters by shipping them across the Atlantic and pouring them into the Mediterranean,—then may the friends of Colonization begin to hope; then, but not till then, can they remove the colored population of the United States to Africa.

Now what is our duty, respected fellow-citizens? Is it to encourage a Society which is rivetting the fetters of tyranny firmer and firmer on two millions of American citizens,—which recognizes the *asserted right* of the master to control the slave—the *assumed right* of man to

* "At the last Anniversary of the Parent Society, it was ascertained also, that the institution was in debt to the amount of about \$45,000."—[*Fifteenth Annual Report of the Vermont Col. Society*, p. 4.]

† By a report of the Board of Managers, giving an account of the receipts and expenditures of the Society, and the number of emigrants sent out by it during the last thirteen years, it appears that the average expense per emigrant has been \$80—not 20 or 25, as we have uniformly been told.

lord over God's creation,—as a right which we ought not to call in question? Is it to encourage a Society which can shake hands with iniquity, and sympathize with the oppressor while he is robbing the helpless, unoffending poor? Is it to encourage a Society which pours gall and wormwood into the bitter waters of prejudice,—which would sacrifice the dearest interests and most sacred rights of the colored man, to satiate the avaricious thirst of the white man for his colored brother's blood? Is it to encourage a Society which invites us to aid in the banishment of free-born citizens to a foreign land and sickly clime,—which forbids discussion, and lays her cold, iron hand upon the mouth of him who dares to “plead the cause of the widow and the fatherless;” which speaks peace to a guilty nation while it slumbers over the groans of two million human beings?

But what is our duty? Freemen, christians, patriots, awake! While we have slumbered, the cries of the outraged and down-trodden slave have continually ascended to the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth. Fellow-citizens, awake! The day is far spent, and the night approaches; but it is yet day—therefore there is hope. For the sake then of our country, and for our own sake, let us arise. Let us lift our voices, and proclaim in the ears of a sinful nation the righteous law of God. Let us remember that every moment we delay, our guilt is increasing;—that the cry of the innocent laborer, whose hire we are keeping back by fraud, nay by force, is entering deeper and deeper into the ear of the Lord of hosts. Let us remember that “preparing to do right, is continuing to do wrong;”—that our pretending sorrow for the sufferings of the slave, and repentance for our own sins, while we put far from us the evil day and break not off from them by righteousness, is mere mockery of Jehovah. Fellow-citizens! lovers of truth and justice! why stand ye idle? “He that is not for us, is against us.” Come ye up then “to the help of the Lord against the mighty.” Let us first wash our own hands in innocence, and our garments from the stain of blood; then let us faithfully discharge our duty towards our fellow-men.

In relation to the American Colonization Society, let us make no compromise. For what fellowship hath light with darkness?—truth with falsehood? or liberty with oppression? But let us prove that we love the members which compose it, by our endeavors to reclaim them.—In relation to the free people of color, let us advocate their right to a home in their native country, and do what we can for their happiness and comfort *here*, instead of driving them into exile—into the grave-yards of Liberia.

In relation to the master, let us observe *the golden rule*, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” Let us lift the voice of entreaty, of warning, and rebuke, that if possible we may wake him from his death-going sleep.

In relation to the slave, let us plead his cause incessantly and cheerfully, unangered and unawed. Let us advocate his right to liberty—to liberty at *home*, not in Liberia.

Fellow-countrymen, ours is the business and the duty to abolish slavery in the United States. Come, then—devote your energies to the work—engage with us in the glorious cause of doing good to others. And when the slave-holders threaten, when the emissaries of Satan cry, “Let us alone; what have you of the North to do with slavery?” let us not be disheartened, but rather let us remember that formerly, when the devils cried “Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth?” they were IMMEDIATELY CAST OUT; and let the reflection cheer us onward to increased exertion.—And you, respected fellow-citizens,—partakers of the same common privileges with the men,—co-heirs to the same AMERICAN LIBERTY,—while you remember that woman was foremost in the fall and restoration of mankind,—that the Savior was born of a woman, nursed at her breast, and dandled on her knees,—while you remember that woman was last at his cross, and first at his grave,—how can you behold the stripes, and anguish, and death of a million fellow-sisters, idly and unconcerned? After many years of unsuccessful effort on the part of the philanthropists of England, to abolish slavery in the British Colonies, the *ladies* took the subject up, and, by united efforts in behalf of the oppressed, secured a speedy triumph to the cause of abolition throughout the British dominions.—Now let the females of this favored country imitate their example;—let them lend their enslaved colored sisters their sympathies and aid:—let them unite in saying that SLAVERY SHALL NOT BE, and they will give the cause of abolition an impulse, which can be neither stopped, nor retarded, but with the downfall of slavery.—Come, then, fellow-citizens, brothers, sisters, all,—let us discharge our duty to our fellow creatures and our God, faithfully, and fearlessly, and leave the consequences to Him who ruleth in the kingdoms of the earth,—under a firm assurance that whatever it may cost us of labor or of scorn, it is the cause of truth and justice, and the cause of God, and will prevail.





